

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 3437

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5444

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: MISSION TRANSLATION OF REVISED FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION
ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS INFORMAL MISSION TRANSLATION OF
TEXTUAL REVISIONS CONTAINED IN FRENCH REVISED DRAFT DECLARATION
ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS, WHICH FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE CIRCULATED ON
NOVEMBER 12. INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF DE ROSE'S COVER NOTE IS ALSO
INCLUDED. (ORIGINAL TEXTS OF BOTH DOCUMENTS SEPTTEL.) END SUMMARY

1. FRENCH LANGUAGE TEXT OF DRAFT DECLARATION IDENTIFIES NEW CHANGES,
ADDITIONS AND OTHER MODIFICATIONS BY UNDERLINING. WE SUBMIT ENTIRE
REVISED FRENCH TEXT, USING LATEST INTERNATIONAL STAFF TRANSLATION
(USNATO 5090) FOR UNCHANGED PORTIONS, AND IDENTIFYING MODIFICATIONS
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BY PHRASES "BEGIN UNDERLINE.... END UNDERLINE." LANGUAGE BETWEEN
THESE PHRASES REPRESENTS MISSION'S INFORMAL TRANSLATION. THIS
APPROACH IS NOT SATISFACTORY IN EVERY CASE SINCE SOME MINOR WORD
CHANGES IN FRENCH CAN REQUIRE A COMPLETE RECASTING OF SENTENCE IN

ENGLISH (E.G., END PARA 3). ON LAST SENTENCE IN PARA 3 OF TEXT (WHICH WE CONSIDER TO CONTAIN A KEY CONCEPT) WE HAVE ALSO USED OUR OWN PHRASING AS OPPOSED TO ADAPTING WHAT WE THINK IS INACCURATE IS RENDITION.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF PERMREP DE ROSE'S COVER NOTE

PLEASE FIND ATTACHED HERewith THE TEXT OF THE FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS WHICH HAS BEEN REVISED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW EXPRESSED IN THE COUNCIL DURING THE "DEBATE OF IDEAS" OF THESE LAST WEEKS.

UNDERLINED PASSAGES CORRESPOND EITHER TO ADDITIONS OR MODIFICATIONS TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT DISTRIBUTED ON OCTOBER 2.

I AM SENDING COPIES OF THE PRESENT COMMUNICATION TO ALL PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES.

END TEXT OF COVER NOTE

3. BEGIN TEXT OF REVISED DRAFT DECLARATION

1. THE MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE RECOGNIZE THAT THE TREATY THEY CONCLUDED 25 YEARS AGO TO SAFEGUARD THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOLLOWING A CONFLICT IN WHICH THEY WERE NEARLY DISPOSSESSED OF BOTH BEGIN UNDERLINE HAS ENSHRINED THE SOLIDARITY OF THE DESTINIES OF THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. END UNDERLINE UNDER ITS PROTECTION, WESTERN EUROPE HAS BEEN ABLE TO RISE FROM ITS RUINS, ATTAIN AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF PROSPERITY AND LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF ITS UNITY WHILE, AT THE SAME TIME, THE WESTERN WORLD HAS BEEN GROWING IN SELF-RELIANCE AND SPREADING THE VALUES OF THE CIVILIZATION TO WHICH IT HAS GIVEN ITS NAME.

2. IN MORE RECENT YEARS, CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARDS ENTENTE AND HARMONY AMONG NATIONS TO THE POINT WHERE A CONFERENCE BRINGING TOGETHER 35 EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES IS NOW PREPARING TO DEFINE THE STANDARDS CAPABLE OF BEGIN UNDERLINE CONFIDENTIAL

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INCRASING END UNDERLINE SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE. THE MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WELCOME THIS TURN OF EVENTS BUT FEEL THAT, AS LONG AS CIRCUMSTANCES DO NOT PERMIT OF GENERAL, COMPLETE

AND CONTROLLED DISARMAMENT, WHICH ALONE CAN BRING GENUINE SECURITY FOR ALL, THESE DEVELOPMENTS FAR FROM RUNNING COUNTER TO THE AIMS OF THE TREATY UNITING THEM, BEGIN UNDERLINE REQUIRE THAT END UNDERLINE THE TIES IT HAS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THEM BEGIN UNDERLINE BE MAINTAINED. END UNDERLINE STATES WHICH DESIRE TO MAINTAIN PEACE HAVE NEVER BEEN KNOWN TO ATTAIN THIS GOAL BY NEGLECTING THE REQUIREMENTS OF THEIR OWN SECURITY.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY NOTE THAT IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST

TEN YEARS THE FOUNDATIONS OF THEIR COMMON DEFENSE HAVE UNDERGONE MAJOR CHANGES. BEGIN UNDERLINE THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION BEING MUTUALLY VULNERABLE EXCLUSIVELY TO STRATEGIC WEAPONS, THE BALANCE WHICH HAS RESULTED BETWEEN THESE TWO POWERS IN THIS DOMAIN, ESTABLISHES GREAT STABILITY IN THEIR RELATIONS. THE SAME DOES NOT APPLY TO EUROPE, WHICH REMAINS PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE TO ALL OTHER FORMS OF CONFLICT, AND WHOSE DEFENSE PROBLEM ACQUIRES BY THIS FACT AN INCREASINGLY SPECIFIC CHARACTER. END UNDERLINE

4. THIS NEW SITUATION IN NO WAY ALTERS THE BASIC FACT THAT, AS MATTERS STAND AT PRESENT - AND THIS IS SOMETHING THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WISH TO REAFFIRM - THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE SECURITY PROVIDED BY UNITED STATES NUCLEAR FORCES, WHETHER THEY ARE BASED IN THE UNITED STATES OR IN EUROPE.

5. IT DOES, HOWEVER, MEAN THAT BEGIN UNDERLINE THE ALLIANCE END UNDERLINE MUST TAKE GREATER ACCOUNT OF THE RISKS CONFRONTING IT BEGIN UNDERLINE IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER, AND END UNDERLINE MUST EMPLOY WHATEVER WAYS AND MEANS ARE NEEDED TO AVERT THESE RISKS. THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, WHOSE FORCES ACCOUNT FOR THREE-QUARTERS OF THE ALLIANCE'S CONVENTIONAL STRENGTH IN EUROPE, AND TWO OF WHICH POSSESS NUCLEAR FORCES CAPABLE OF FULFILLING A DETERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN, UNDERTAKE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTION TO KEEP THE COMMON DEFENSE EFFORT AT A LEVEL CAPABLE OF DETERRING ANY MOVE DIRECTED AGAINST THEIR INDEPENDENCE OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY BEGIN UNDERLINE AND TO REPEL ANY FORM OF AGGRESSION WERE DETERRENCE TO FAIL. END
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UNDERLINE THE UNITED STATES, FOR ITS PART, DECLARES THAT IT WILL COUNTENANCE NO SITUATION WHEREBY EUROPE IS EXPOSED TO EXTERNAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE WHICH COULD LEAD TO THE LOSS OF ITS FREEDOM; THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMS THAT IT WILL KEEP ITS FORCES IN EUROPE AT A LEVEL BEGIN UNDERLINE WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED BY END UNDERLINE A CREDIBLE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE AND A CAPABILITY TO DEFEND THE ATLANTIC AREA SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL AND THAT THE PURPOSE OF ITS AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION OF 22ND JUNE, 1973 IS TO PREVENT ALL FORMS OF WAR AND NOT TO LAY DOWN THE RULES AND LIMITS FOR WAGING WAR.

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6. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AFFIRM THAT AS THE ULTIMATE AIM OF ALL DEFENSE POLICIES IS TO PREVENT A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY FROM REALIZING THE OBJECTIVES HE WOULD IMPOSE BEGIN UNDERLINE AND FOR WHICH HE WOULD HAVE INITIATED A CONFLICT, END UNDERLINE ALL THE FORCES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WOULD, IF NECESSARY, BE USED TO THIS END.

7. COMMON DEFENSE IS ONE AND INDIVISIBLE. THE COMMON GOAL IS TO MAINTAIN A POSTURE CAPABLE OF PREVENTING A CONFLICT WHICH WOULD PUT AN END TO EUROPEAN INDEPENDENCE AND THUS CULMINATE IN THE SUBJUGATION OF THE WORLD.

8. FROM THIS STANDPOINT IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT A CONTINUED AND SUBSTANTIAL PRESENCE OF AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE PLAYS AN IRREPLACEABLE ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES ITSELF, AS WELL AS IN THAT OF THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE. LIKEWISE, THE EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY TOWARDS POLITICAL UNITY SHOULD, IN DUE COURSE, FAVOURABLE AFFECT THE CONTRIBUTION THAT ITS MEMBER NATIONS, WHICH ARE AT THE SAME TIME MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, MAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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TO THE PROBLEM OF DEFENSE.

9. BEGIN UNDERLINE THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE BELIEVE THAT THEIR DESIRE TO COMBINE THEIR EFFORTS IN ORDER TO ASSURE THE COMMON DEFENSE OBLIGES THEM TO NEGLECT NOTHING WHICH COULD IMPROVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR OWN FORCES, EACH COUNTRY ASSUMING, IN RELATION TO ITS PLACE IN THE ALLIANCE, ITS PROPER PART OF THE CHARGES WHICH ASSURE THE SECURITY OF ALL.

CONVERSELY THEY BELIEVE THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE ACCEPTED DURING THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS IN PROGRESS OR TO COME WHICH MIGHT DIMINISH THIS SECURITY. END UNDERLINE

10. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONVINCED, NOW AS BEFORE, THAT THESE AIMS CANNOT BE ACHIEVED UNLESS THEY CONTINUE AMONG THEM-

SELVES CLOSE CONSULTATION AND TRUSTFUL CO-OPERATION ON ALL PROBLEMS
OF COMMON INTEREST. BEGIN UNDERLINE SINCE DETENTE AND DEFENSE ARE
COMPLEMENTARY, THEY WILL KEEP ONE ANOTHER INFORMED IN PARTICULAR
AS TO THE EVOLUTION OF, AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS.
WHILE CONTINUING TO RESPECT THEIR INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS OR THOSE
ENGAGEMENTS TO WHICH
THEY HAVE SUBSCRIBED JOINTLY, THEY WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO ELIMINATE
THE SOURCES OF CONFLICT AMONG THEIR RESPECTIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES
AND ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG THEMSELVES. END UNDERLINE

11. BEGIN UNDERLINE THEY RECALL THAT THEIR SOLIDARITY IS BASED
ON A COMMON ATTACHMENT TO THE CONCEPTS OF DEMOCRACY, A RESPECT FOR
THE RIGHTS OF MAN, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, ALL OF WHICH ARE THE
FRUITS OF THEIR COMMON SPIRITUAL HERITAGE. SINCE THESE PRINCIPLES
FORBID, BY THEIR VERY ESSENCE, ANY RECOURSE TO METHODS WHICH ARE
INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE, END UNDERLINE THEY
REAFFIRM
THAT THEIR EFFORTS TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE, TO MAINTAIN THEIR
SECURITY AND TO IMPROVE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THEIR PEOPLES
PRECLUDE AGGRESSION AGAINST ANYONE, THAT THESE EFFORTS ARE NOT
DIRECTED AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRY AND THAT THEY ARE DESIGNED
TO BRING ABOUT AN OVERALL IMPROVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

BEGIN UNDERLINE IN EUROPE, THEIR OBJECTIVES REMAIN THE SEARCH
FOR UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION WITH ALL COUNTRIES OF THE CON-
TINENT. IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, THEY RECOGNIZE SPECIAL OBLIGATIONS
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TOWARDS THOSE WHO HAVE NOT YET BENEFITTED FROM ALL THE ADVANTAGES
WHICH COME FROM TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. END UNDERLINE

12. BEGIN UNDERLINE IN DOING THIS, THEY REALIZE THAT THEY ARE
PROPOSING TO THEIR PEOPLES, AND ESPECIALLY TO YOUNGER GENERATIONS,
A TASK WHICH WILL BE THE EQUAL OF THEIR VITALITY AND AMBITIONS.
LIBERTY, IN EFFECT, REQUIRES OF THOSE WHO DESIRE TO ENJOY IT..
THAT THEY ASSUME FULLY ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. END UNDERLINE

END TEXT OF REVISED DRAFT DECLARATION
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